The Portuguese state and its emigrants. Policy and practices in the repatriation of minors

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Introduction

Starting from an analysis of Portuguese emigration to Brazil, this article aims to study the processes for the repatriation of emigrant minors during the First Portuguese Republic (1910–26), in particular from 1919, when emigration became a subject for political debate, until 1926, when a military coup brought the republican regime to an end. During this period, social issues gained greater importance on the Portuguese political scene with the republican state adopting a central role in dynamising and articulating national social policies. The post-war period also represented a phase of migratory instability marked by restrictions imposed on the entry of migrants into Brazil and by Brazil’s economic and social instability. The social responsibility assumed by the Portuguese state together with its concern to make its population economically profitable led it to reconsider its role towards its emigrants. In line with the concept of biopolitics developed by Michel Foucault, this study aims to analyse Portugal’s priorities in terms of emigration and the mechanisms employed to achieve its objectives. Special consideration will be given to the procedures used to organise the repatriation of emigrants in order to illustrate how the government’s practical approach to population control in Portugal transcended its borders and was applied to migrants settled in Brazil. It centres on the analysis of the repatriation of minors – those aged 21 or less – who found themselves without economic or financial resources to remain in Brazil, highlighting the methods and logics of governmentality. The repatriation solution was linked to the accumulation of traumatic circumstances caused by the host country’s socioeconomic and political context. Portuguese emigrants, collectively or individually, were faced with a situation that left them in a vulnerable position, one in which the Portuguese authorities needed to assume the role of protector and organise their return to their country of origin. Migrants who were incapable of being economically self-sustaining or who were unsupported by relatives and friends asked the consular services for help in organising their return to Portugal. Repatriated minors were part of the group who were unable or did not wish to remain in Brazil any longer for economic or family reasons. This category of migrant minors lumped together individuals with a variety of socioeconomic profiles, all requiring differentiated treatment. For this reason, I consider various cases of minors whose repatriation required Portuguese state intervention as a result of their age and sex, relationship to the family unit and the labour market, and their function in their society of origin and the host society.

1 This work is funded by national funds through FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia under the project UID/HIS/04209/2013.
Differences in management mechanisms are identified in order to highlight the methods used in different cases and the vulnerabilities and difficulties Portuguese consular services in Brazil encountered. I also provide evidence of the collaborative dynamic between a series of official and non-official actors, both public and private, among whom were the consuls, private agents of the shipping companies, the Portuguese elite in Brazil and Portuguese civil society. This chapter does not focus specifically on the work carried out by religious associations, because they had their own dynamic. Rather, the aim is to emphasise the civil activity organised around the consular services in the context of a Portuguese republic that claimed to be anticlerical.

Analysis of the repatriation process for these minors is a relevant object of study by which to ascertain the importance of the investment made by the state for the country of origin and for future generations. Organisation of this process should be understood as an instrument of biopower over the emigrated minors. It was one in which the Portuguese state followed various logics – political, economic, humanitarian and demographic – and governmental rationality in accordance with the state’s function as guardian of the greater good and manager of its population. Thus, inquiring into the logics and operationalisation methods of repatriation is justified by taking into account the limitations, primarily financial and legal, that prevented repatriating all emigrants. The study is supported by an analysis of documents in the archives of the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its various consular services in Brazil, as it represents the main institution involved in organising the repatriations. The archives of the Ministry of the Marine, given its role in operationalising the maritime transport of those repatriated, were also consulted. Finally, legislation as well as reports produced by Portuguese institutions (the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa and Portuguese associations in Brazil, among others) and the emigration service active during the First Republic provide further elements to better understand Portugal’s emigration policy and the situation of the Portuguese community in Brazil.

**Biopolitics and migrant minors: A brief contextualisation**

From the nineteenth century onwards, Portuguese governments viewed the national population as a resource whose profitability should be optimised to defend the national interest. The definition of a politics of life, as well as the intervention of a modern government based on rationalised practices capable of producing the well-being of the population – a condition for optimising its profitability, was not limited to the population confined within the national territory (Foucault, 2004; Andrieu, 2004; Dillon, 2010; Gauthier, 2016; Lascoumes, 2004). When governments began being called upon to develop actions to protect their national interests, this politics of life transcended physical borders to include citizens who had emigrated and settled in foreign countries.

If we look at the history of Portuguese emigration, the state’s concern to learn more about the situation of its emigrant population settled in Brazil – the main country to attract Portuguese emigration – grew with the massification of departures during and after the 1870s (Pereira, 1981: 81; Alves, 1994: 121; Serrão, 1977: 33–4). In the second half of the nineteenth century, Brazil attracted mainly young, illiterate people from the lower social classes with agricultural backgrounds. Departures mainly took place spontaneously through family networks that linked the two countries. Parallel to legal departures, there were also illegal and clandestine departures that mainly involved young people fleeing military service. These were facilitated by networks of intermediaries that sprang up all over Portugal (Alves, 1994: 151–61).
Emigration became a question debated in the corridors of power. The state sought to weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of emigrant departures as well as identify the fragilities of and costs to the national economy. In order to do so, information was needed on the reasons for exits and on the living and working conditions of emigrants abroad. Although incomplete, the first reports and surveys produced during the monarchy had begun to quantify the migratory reality, providing some statistics on the repatriation of the population in each economic sector of activity and on salaries. They also described situations that were frequently alarming and looked scientifically at the difficulties faced by emigrants and their families when trying to achieve a better life and at the abject hygienic, health and moral consequences arising from this. The condition of minors was related to the family context and to difficulties entering the labour market. What stood out, though, were the mental and physical illnesses inherited from their parents and the moral consequences (mendicity, vagrancy, crime and prostitution). Portuguese emigrants and their families conveyed a negative image of the Portuguese community in the host society, an image it was deemed necessary to correct by using social control. Here, we find ourselves a long way from the popular image of the “brasileiro” [Brazilian], the Portuguese tradesman who returned to his country of origin having made his fortune after spending many years in Brazil (Monteiro, 2000: 277–318).

From the end of the nineteenth century, the demand for significant state intervention based on more accurate knowledge of the emigration reality, as well as measures to prevent perpetuation of the degrading situation in which the Portuguese community found itself, gained momentum (Salgado, 2011). This demand was made to protect the emigrants and in the name of the greater national interest. Although the individual right to leave was still respected, the administrative mechanisms advocated were to be used to regulate departures and halt illegal practices. On one hand, they sought to control travel conditions on ships and the activity of intermediaries (emigration, passage and passport agents) involved in recruitment, organising the documentation required to obtain a passport from the district civil governor’s office and booking maritime passages. On the other hand, the first steps were taken to condition the departure of more vulnerable individuals – women and children – and those who were obliged to do military service. There were no departure restrictions as yet for health reasons.

In addition, calls were made for state intervention to develop public assistance for emigrants but with a special focus on children. This demand was in line with the

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2 AAVV, Primeiro Inquérito Parlamentar sobre a emigração portugueza pela comissão da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1873), 1–72. Another important public debate was based on the second parliamentary inquiry made in 1885: Comissão Parlamentar para o Estudo da Emigração Portuguesa, 1885, Documentos apresentados à Câmara dos Senhores Deputados e por ella manda- dos Publicar na Sessão Legislativa de 1886. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1886.

3 In the 1873 parliamentary inquiry, reports were published that had been produced by the Caixa de Socorros de D. Pedro V and by the Portuguese consulates in Brazil (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Bahia) (AAVV, 1873: 90–7 and 99–162).


5 Children and migrant women were considered as the categories who needed a big effort to be protected. See AAVV, 1873: 60.
efforts being made to protect children in Portugal. Such public assistance was to include not only social assistance but also education. This was considered essential to produce an educated migrant citizen who would then possess the tools needed to face any type of exploitation. It would also facilitate integration in the foreign labour market and guarantee significant economic returns and international prestige for Portugal, all without severing their ties to their country of origin (Silva, 1917: 274–6). The state had to take a stance and adopt initiatives in the face of the different contradictory opinions that were voiced about emigration. Even so, state intervention proved difficult to apply in practice in all these areas.

Minors are a category of migrants that are hard to define given their multifaceted profiles that are full of ambiguities and contradictions. This is due to their different migratory experiences, and the various representations of their national economic and social roles in the public and private spheres. At the same time, the migration of minors raised a series of problems for the family unit linked to their vulnerable situation and dependence as well as to their fulfilment of civic duties (such as military service) and their relationship to the labour market (Ensor & Gozdzia, 2010: 3).

In Portugal, child protection had been discussed since the time of the monarchy in terms of social issues, such as minimum working conditions, access to education and the fight against poverty, mendicity and infant mortality. The different treatment given to children to differentiate them from adults derived from the view that they were the ‘regenerators of the nation’ and a source of wealth for Portugal. They therefore required their own protective and pre-preventive measures against social maladaptation, which were different to those for adults. The role of the state began to change at this time, as did its relation to benevolent societies and private institutions. It started regulating and supervising them whilst also supporting them financially, but, at the same time, it pushed back the boundaries of the private and family spheres (Tomé, 2010: 483–5; Pereira, 1999: 47–76; Garrido, 2016: 120–390).

In Brazil, the literature shows that Brazilian activities for providing assistance to the poor were disorganised and dispersed, and inadequate methods were in place to respond to a demand that had been delegated to private initiatives since the nineteenth century. Measures to fight child abandonment had very limited practical application. The same applied to the way institutions to educate poor young people were organised. These combined teaching with vocational training so as to make this young human capital profitable within Brazilian society (Del Priori, 2012: 237-8). Later, with the beginning of the Brazilian republic in 1889, the fight against illiteracy reinforced the concern to improve the protection of minors. As in other countries, the state progressively became the main entity responsible for organising public assistance following the principles of scientific philanthropy (Viscardi, 2011; Souza, 2014).

Neither Portugal nor Brazil had a public welfare system for children, although both countries had implemented several measures from the late nineteenth century. The framework governing minors found itself at the crossroads of two different jurisdictions that heightened socioeconomic inequalities and discrimination, especially in terms of access to health care, when compared to Brazilians. Thus, the dynamic underlying assistance for minors was marked by diversity and a decentralised effort. Financial costs determined the direction, nature and coverage of

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6 The creation of establishments for poor young people that conjoined asylum and vocational primary school was envisaged.
the initiatives taken, often leaving responsibility for organising them to philanthropic and charitable institutions.

In Brazil, the setting up and running of hospitals, Portuguese philanthropic institutions (organized according to professional category, company, nationality or political/religious affiliation), mutual aid associations and religious institutions filled a gap in Brazilian social and labour policies. Religious societies also played a central role in providing social support for emigrants, but the establishment of the Brazilian and Portuguese republics, which were meant to be anti-clerical, weakened the Catholic influence in their social and educational intervention. However, the Catholic Church remained one of the main religious institutions in the 1920s to perform a key role in these areas. Portuguese mutual aid associations made a range of benefits available to the family unit, including money for sickness or accident benefit, funerals, medical and pharmaceutical assistance and legal support (Fonseca, 2009: 225–6; Costa, 2014). Charitable and philanthropic associations could also help organise repatriation, although the creation of associations dedicated exclusively to repatriation was only justified in those cities with a large amount of economic support.

Faced with this situation, Portuguese consulates were increasingly called upon to support the consular protection of emigrants in collaboration with philanthropic institutions, especially when it came to the repatriation of destitute migrant citizens, including minors. We will now see what place the repatriation of minors occupied in the emigration policy adopted in 1919, demonstrating up to what point this solution could be seen as a last resort, a position justified by state action centred primarily on controlling departures to avoid later situations involving emigrant vulnerability and recourse to repatriation.

**Emigration policy and minors in the post-war period**

The First Portuguese Republic continued the work initiated during the monarchy in the area of public assistance and social security, providing a secular touch to the measures adopted. At the same time as children became an object of attention in work, civil, social, educational and penal matters, they also became an affair of state and not exclusively a family affair (Vaquinhas 2011: 18). For example, the 1911 Law for the Protection of Children [Lei de Proteção à Infância] should be considered a great step forward in terms of child citizenship (Tomé, 2010: 489). Education was also one of the fundamental pillars of the First Republic, and free compulsory primary schooling was introduced, first up to the age of nine and later up to the age of fourteen (Carvalho, 2008: 669–70).

However, after the parliament voted in favour of the social package (with 340 laws) presented in May 1919 by the Minister for Work, Augusto Dias da Silva, the state then sought to implement a system of compulsory social security based on the model of the mutual aid associations (Pereira, 2013: 320–45). Wanting to break with the mutualist practices of the previous regime, the state wished to finally assume a key role in the organisation of social protection in Portugal. The state was therefore in favour of adopting this package along with measures in other fields, such as the worlds of work (eight-hour working days), social welfare, public assistance, private charities and health and hospitals.

Emigration was legislated in this social context in May 1919, and the principle of solidarity towards emigrants was one of the guiding factors underpinning the law.\(^7\) The social insurances created had to cover illness, old age, disability, survival and work accidents. Unemployment was not included.\(^8\)

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8. Preamble to Decree-Law no. 5624 of the Ministry of the Interior – Directorate- General of Public
The more interventionist role of the state in Portuguese society brought about by the war also explains this clear stance on emigration. The rationality behind departures and the controls adopted led to measures and mechanisms being implemented that were based on governmental intentionality to maximise the positive effects of departures. Starting from the concept of “power philanthropy”, the state wanted to allow those who were more suitable to leave yet prevent the emigration of certain individuals. These included those who had to fulfil a civic duty to their country as well as the physically more vulnerable, since the emigrant could not be guaranteed adequate tutelary conditions and could become a social and financial burden on the Portuguese state.

What is more, the Portuguese legislation assimilated Brazil’s new immigration policy, which imposed new restrictions based on eugenic criteria (Rygiel, 2007; Ramos, 2006: 77–101). Hence, the year 1919 represented a key moment for taking an assertive stand on emigration. However, Portugal’s financial dependence on emigrants’ remittances was clearly recognised. They helped offset the huge deficit in public finances increased by Portugal’s debt, the money in circulation and the strong inflationary pressures that marked the post-war period (Lains, 2003: 156–66). Nonetheless, parliamentary debates showed there were various different positions on, as well as opposition to, the usefulness of emigration to the national economy in a time of great political instability (there were twenty-seven governments between 1919 and 1926) (Rocha, 2017: 185–99).

State intervention was justified, therefore, in May and June 1919 with the creation of the General Commissariat for Emigration Services [CGSE – Comissariado Geral dos Serviços de Emigração]. The emigration regime that was established involved a broader field of action in various phases of the emigration process (from departure to the hypothetical return to Portugal) by reinforcing the ability of the consular services to collaborate in preventing and correcting any eventual illegal situations. To do this, it became crucial to provide more exhaustive knowledge of the characteristics of Portuguese emigration, namely the emigrants’ motivations and socioeconomic profiles as well as living and working conditions overseas and the number of departures. Above all, the legislation enabled the authorities to intervene directly in the preparation phase preceding departure and up to embarkation. This was an important and propitious moment to intervene preventively on Portuguese soil and improve administrative control prior to departure. First of all, this intervention took the form of conditioning the departure of individuals who were more vulnerable to exploitation. Unmarried women under the age of 25 and minors under the age of 14 not accompanied on the journey by relatives or guardians were forbidden to leave. Males aged between 14 and 45 had to have their military situation in order, forcing them to pay a deposit or a military licence fee. Finally, any head of a family who wished to leave the country had to guarantee support and assistance for those family members who remained behind in Portugal. The reason for this was to try to make sure family ties were maintained, irrespective of whether the family members were in Portugal or Brazil. This connection was essential to ensure the economic support of the family, to guarantee the Portuguese state the financial benefits of emigration

Security. DG, 1st Série, 6ª Suplemento, no. 98, 10 May 1919.


10 See, as an example, the first emigration bulletin Boletim de emigração, no. 1 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1st year, 1919).
and, at the same time, to avoid expensive costs assisting emigrants abroad.11 Secondly, it was decided to reinforce supervision of activities linked to the emigration business, in particular intermediaries (i.e. agents of passage and passport, emigration agents) who could place future emigrants, including minors, in a situation of vulnerability abroad, or who could facilitate illegal or clandestine departures. They were required to have an authorisation from the local authorities, and publicity about passages and working conditions in Brazil was restricted.

The 1919 legislation, therefore, regulated once again travel conditions and medical assistance provision, paying special attention to the protection of women and minors so as to avoid moral deviations (i.e. rape or enticement to prostitution) before disembarkation. Finally, the legislation called for an official framework abroad to be developed through concerted, transnational collaboration between consular services, solidarity structures in Brazil, the Portuguese elite and shipping companies (David & Tournès, 2014: 18–21).

A small amount of the emigration fund, financed directly or indirectly by duties and taxes paid by the emigration industry, was reserved to fund institutions recommended by the consulates. The consular services were also called upon to set up much needed *patronatos*. These were public/private structures that would function as lay Portuguese associations charged with providing social, educational and cultural assistance to emigrants.

For the first time, the central power intervened in the negotiations to repatriate Portuguese emigrants in an attempt to impose an official commitment on both national and foreign shipping companies. Repatriation was free for 3 percent of emigrants (those considered destitute), and there was a 50 percent discount on the passage fare for over 10 percent of those emigrants who were unemployed or in economic difficulties.12 This percentage was to be fixed every three months by the consular services. The number of Portuguese emigrants carried on the voyage out determined the percentage value set for those repatriated the following quarter.

Repatriation was no longer limited to individuals who, for reasons beyond their control, found themselves in difficult situations arising from illegal practices that occurred on board ship (shipwrecks or being abandoned on land), as the 1903 consular regulation stated.13 This commitment to repatriation was the condition required to obtain official authorisation to transport Portuguese emigrants on the voyage out through a licence granted by the CGSE. Although the 1919 legislation decreed that repatriation was exclusively for subsidised emigration, any emigrant who had left without such a document was also covered as from 1921.14 Thus, the number of those who could benefit increased, which complicated relations with the shipping companies that carried out such repatriation.

According to the same legislation, consular services were responsible for drawing up a list of those needing to be repatriated, giving priority to: (i) those who had not yet done their military service; (ii) those who had a serious, but not contagious, disease; (iii) minors; (iv) heads of large families that had remained in Portugal; and (v) those who had been shipwrecked. Although the 1919 legislation determined which

11 Decree no. 5624 and no. 5886.

12 For example, a shipping company which transported 500 emigrants during the first quarter would have to repatriate 3 percent of these 500 emigrants, in other words 15, in the second quarter.

13 See, for example, articles 32 to 38 referring to aid and repatriation in the consular regulation of 24 December 1903. In Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, DGNCC, *Regulamento Consular de 24 de dezembro de 1903* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1904), 14–6.

individuals had priority, applying the law fell to the consular services, who had to align the provisions set out in that law with the 1920 consular regulation, which did not differ substantially from that of 1903. The list of priorities was in line with the established emigration regime that restricted the departure of the most vulnerable, including minors, and those individuals (be they minors or not) who had an economic or civic obligation to the Portuguese state or to their own family. Theoretically, and in accordance with biopolitical principles, importance was given to the return of men who were still physically and economically capable of serving the interests of Portugal and supporting their family, since they represented the central element of the family’s well-being. Repatriation of the sick was also a priority, except for those who suffered from a contagious disease, which confirms the importance in this period of the concern with health and hygiene. As Foucault wrote, medicine served to define state logics for an economic purpose and to select useful citizens.

However, an analysis of how repatriation was organised in the field by the consuls has revealed a more restrictive and personalised application. Repatriation was not viewed by the consulates as a state duty but rather as a favour, contrary to what the 1919 legislation implied. One of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ main concerns was to ensure rigour and limit the number of beneficiaries. The Ministry thus recommended that knowledge of this “privilege” should not be widely disseminated among Portuguese emigrants, so as to avoid it becoming an expensive service. Furthermore, the Ministry established a long and complicated administrative procedure for emigrants to gain access to repatriation, requiring proof of their impoverished situation. Aimed at destitute national citizens, confirmation of their poverty had to be validated by a written document and payment of repatriation costs, assumed in full by the consulates, depended on the economic situation of the emigrant and his family in Brazil and Portugal as well as his military situation. The status of indigent was acquired through confirmation of being unemployed and lacking economic means in either country. This was obtained through enquiries made by the local authorities and the police in both countries, whereby the family were contacted directly to ascertain their financial situation.

Having defined the repatriation norms, we shall now look at how they were applied in concrete terms so as to demonstrate the rationale adopted, the complexity underlying the management of minors and the solutions found for the problems that were encountered.

The repatriation of minors: Actors and logics

The measures taken after the war were aimed at tightening the state’s grip on emigration in order to prevent cases of emigrants’ failing to be successful in Brazil and at avoiding the Portuguese authorities having to act in a foreign country where they had little room for manoeuvre. However, strategies used by emigration intermediaries and the emigrants themselves enabled many to circumvent the law and police control. This was facilitated by weak repression and limited penalisation of illegal activities. In order to bypass the limitations on legal departures, emigrants used false documents (e.g. military licences, birth certificates, health certificates) and

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15 Articles 98 to 103, in Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, DGNCC, Regulamento consular português, 1920, aprovado pelo Decreto no. 6462 de 7 de março de 1920 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1920), 38–41.
16 Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (AHD-MNE), RJ 203: Ofício de Duarte Leite para o Encarregado do Consulado em Santos, no. 4, 25, 11 March 1922.
17 Boletim de Emigração, from 1919 to 1926. pp. 14; 18; 16; 20; 13; 16; 20.
bribed the local public officials responsible for organising departures. As a result, the consular services in Brazil were constantly being asked to control and protect emigrants, especially in the case of the repatriation of minors. However, doing so raised a key question – that of their tutelary responsibility. This was why correct identification through contact with the minor’s family or relatives, when these still existed, was essential to determine the limits of consular intervention.

According to what was laid down in the 1919 legislation and the consular regulation, emigrants in a precarious state of health (such as lepers, those with tuberculosis or malaria, and people with mental disorders) had to remain in Brazil. Repatriation was decided according to the costs involved and the situation in which the minor found him/herself. Recourse to repatriation was considered when the family networks between the country of origin and the host country were broken or at the express wish of the members of the network themselves. This rejection happened when no one wanted to assume guardianship of the minor in either the host country or the country of origin, be they members of the family, members of the immigrant community or representatives of Portuguese or foreign, public or private institutions. This cutting of ties also occurred due to circumstances beyond anyone’s control, either because there were no living family members, or because they did not have the necessary financial means, or simply because none could be found.

A minor presented to the consular services with no family protection would not easily lead to their being repatriated, despite the difficulties of finding an alternative solution. Orphaned girls, in particular, were considered the most vulnerable because they could easily follow an immoral path and, therefore, make integration into the work market impossible. As the consul in Manaus reported in 1920, it was very hard to find a place for girls as servants in the houses of a Portuguese or Brazilian families, as they “could not go out into the street to deliver messages without having their morality called into question”.

The Portuguese consuls in Brazil did not always act in the same way when it came to finding homes for minors. The commitment and efficacy of the consuls’ actions in finding a solution for these cases depended on the degree of sensibility of each one and on his relationship and influence with the Portuguese and Brazilian communities. The relationships forged by the consuls with the Portuguese economic and political elite in Brazil allowed them to have a special link and close contact with them. This made it easier to sensitise and motivate them to find solutions for each case that appeared in the consulate.

Furthermore, there was a strong probability that girls would become unwanted and be rejected in the short or long term by the owners of the houses that received them. Subjected to difficult living and working conditions (despised and provided with poor

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18 See, for example, the criminal cases on illegal emigration in Direção-Geral de Arquivos (DGARQ) – Ministério da Administração Interna (MAI), Secretaria Geral, Correspondência recebida, Maço 327, Livro 3, no. 52: Processo de Inquérito aos actos de agentes do Serviço de Emigração, 20 de novembro de 1920 a 16 de setembro de 1921.


21 Idem.

accommodation and food), their presence was propitious to creating conflict, particularly with the lady of the house. Accused of theft or immoral behaviour, housewives took issue with their morality. In order to solve the conflict, the Portuguese consul acted as an intermediary, performing the role of lawyer for these girls to confirm whether the accusations were true or not. Placing girls in public or private, religious or secular institutions, such as private colleges or asylums, was considered an alternative to private houses. However, given the lack of places in such institutions and their lack of financial resources, putting a girl there meant the consul had to personally intervene, insistently and persistently, and promise certain favours in return.

Repatriating minors with their families was the most common practice. Consulting the archives has confirmed that there was a preference for repatriating members, including their relatives, enrolled in Portuguese mutual aid associations and philanthropic institutions since that guaranteed fewer expenses for the consulates and ensured the family unit and its support was maintained in Portugal. However, this financial support was primarily intended for associates. The amount made available for each associate depended on how long they had been a member and on the social priorities established by the association.

Periods of greater economic instability in Brazil, when there was an increase in the number of people repatriated, revealed the limitations of operationalising repatriation on a large scale. For example, during the Manaus rubber crisis in 1920–21 (Neto & Nogueira, 2016: 20–2), even though the Portuguese community in Manaus was organised corporately and had been economically important since the mid-nineteenth century, there were difficulties. The Lusitânia Repatriadora was one of the most influential philanthropic institutions in Manaus, and its work repatriating Portuguese emigrants since its creation in 1908 was extremely important (Pinheiro, 2013: 569). Although Manaus was a city that attracted many emigrants given its dynamic economy due to the rubber tapping industry, the literature reveals the constant financial difficulties workers faced there. This therefore justified the creation of hospitals and charity institutions for Portuguese associates, such as the Sociedade Beneficente Portuguesa do Amazonas (1873). The creation of Lusitânea Repatriadora, dedicated exclusively to repatriation, confirms there was a need to respond to a situation of widespread indigence and a feeling of helplessness, which demanded a significant effort be made in this domain (Pinheiro, 2013: 569). However, setting up this type of association was not very usual in Brazil. As has already been mentioned, solidarity structures concentrated on providing social and medical support, which should have been given by the host country. Repatriation was a secondary concern.

In general, the consular services faced a large number of difficulties when organising returns. They were required to collaborate even more closely with philanthropic institutions and reach an understanding. They also had to become adept at negotiating with agents representing national and foreign shipping companies in order to obtain

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23 In one case, the consul in Manaus even called a doctor to prove the girl was still a virgin and clear her of the accusations made against her. AHD-MNE, S12.E20. P4:75982. 1920–1925: Ofício da Júlio Augusto Borges dos Santos, cônsul de Manaus, para o Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros, no. 38, Proc 57/920, 18 de outubro de 1920.

discounts on passage fares. This situation, along with repatriation costs, created tension at times, particularly with the Portuguese company *Transportes Marítimos do Estado.* Until it closed down in 1922, this company was responsible for repatriating the majority of Portuguese emigrants. From that moment on, foreign companies – English, French, German and Dutch – took on this task. This led to a conflict with the Portuguese authorities when, in exchange for repatriating emigrants, they demanded lower duties and reduced taxes, which were a huge burden on the companies involved in transporting emigrants (Santos, 2018).

The Portuguese colonies, primarily Angola, were considered possible alternative destinations for the returnees and a suitable solution to the situation they had left in Brazil and the difficulties they would face if they returned to mainland Portugal. For many emigrants – illiterate, destitute and with no economic means to support their families – this alternative should be considered more as a consular imposition they could not refuse.

Although an effort was made to reduce repatriation costs for the consular services, the political and economic instability in Brazil and the consequent increase in the number of emigrants, including minors, in a situation of vulnerability and unable to support themselves or be supported by relatives led the consuls to warn about the difficult socioeconomic situation the Portuguese community found itself in and the need for state intervention to respond to the situation. Until 1926, constant requests were made to alter the emigration regime, demanding greater restrictions and imposing some order on departures, particularly for those under the age of 14 and girls under the age of 16 when not accompanied by their parents.

The measures of 1920 and 1921 partially responded to the consulates’ complaints by tightening up control of departures of those under the age of 21 and married women who wanted to join their parents or husbands. An assurance had to be given that they would be accompanied to their final destination, and a consular certificate had to be presented proving the identity of the relatives who had sent for the emigrant. The relatives also had to guarantee a job on arrival or that they would support the emigrant should they find themselves unable to immediately find work. However, these measures continued to be considered insufficient, as they did not enforce compliance with the obligations contracted in the certificate. This led the consulates to propose a measure – never applied – that obliged the relatives responsible for sending for the emigrant to make a prior deposit of 1 percent of the price of the return voyage. After 1922, no measures were taken that had a direct or significant impact on the regime governing the departure of minors.

Besides demanding the emigration regime be tightened up and implemented, the financial support needed to set up and maintain Portuguese philanthropic institutions,

27 AHD-MNE, Embaixada de Portugal no Rio de Janeiro, RJ-005: Ofício da Embaixada para o Ministro do Interior, no. 13/24, 5 de maio de 1923.
28 Decree no. 7427. DG, 1st Séries, n.” 64, 30 March 1921.
29 AHD-MNE, Embaixada de Portugal no Rio de Janeiro, RJ-003: Ofício de 7 de dezembro de 1921, no. 78-B, Proc 42/921.
30 From 1922 to 1926, Portuguese legislation on emigration primarily covered regulating departures to the countries of North America, Central America and Europe, supervising the activities of intermediaries (passage and passport agents and shipping companies) and updating emigration fees and duties.
hospitals and mental asylums was regularly mentioned by consular services as being a major reason to limit repatriation, thus reducing the state’s expenditure and avoiding the return of individuals with no economic value.\textsuperscript{31} The Portuguese solidarity network in Brazil grew during the 1920s without the financial support of the Portuguese state, although the legislation did provide for a sum to be set aside for philanthropic institutions. In reality, it was never confirmed that this money was in fact available and no \textit{patronatos} were ever established.

In general, what was favoured was the return of those minors who still had a certain economic and civic usefulness and who would not become a public burden in Portugal. Repatriating minors, particularly girls, required a certain care to be taken in selecting and preparing the voyage, in third class, and differentiated management was, at times, contradictory to what was set out in the law. For example, the return could not be made without ensuring the minor was suitably accompanied, such as with a family of high economic status.\textsuperscript{32} Minors who suffered from contagious diseases were not repatriated. Although their return might be requested by relatives in Portugal, repatriation was denied, so these children ended up being interned in hospitals or asylums.\textsuperscript{33}

Finally, orphans and minors, particularly girls, with no guarantee of any family support in Brazil or Portugal represented the group that had the least probability of being repatriated owing to the lack of any protection or family responsibility and to the fact that public institutions in Portugal were unable to guarantee they could accept them. The return of children without any family support led to an increase in mendicity and prostitution in Portugal, as there was still no widespread network of public infrastructures adapted to receiving large numbers of children. Moreover, the archives consulted never refer to children eventually being received by charitable religious institutions based in Portugal. This reality reflected the national situation in which an effort was made during the First Republic to develop a form of public assistance dedicated to children. However, for financial reasons, it was extremely limited in regard to implementing projects, whether in terms of geographical expansion or enabling wider access (Pereira, 2013: 462–71; Tomé, 2010: 495). At the level of international relations, a bilateral agreement negotiated between Portugal and Brazil in 1922 was never ratified by either party. Based on the Convention signed between Italy and Brazil, this bilateral agreement was nothing more than a generic document on workers’ freedom to assemble and associate, with no particular reference to the protection of more vulnerable emigrants, notably minors.\textsuperscript{34} (Mendes, 2011: 219–23; Mendes and Miranda, 2006: 165–204). Moreover, since 1921, Italy, the emigration country of reference for emigration policies, had sought to bring together representatives from the various emigration and immigration countries under the

\textsuperscript{33} This was the case of a 16-year-old minor who had been living in Brazil for over five years and was abandoned by her uncle. She was handed over to the consulate suffering from a mental disorder after having been raped and infected with a venereal disease, then interned in the Hospital de Santa Casa da Misericórdia where she was abused. AHD-MNE, S12.E20.P4:75982. 1920–1925: Ofício da Júlio Augusto Borges dos Santos, cônsul de Manaus, para o Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros, no. 38, Proc 57/920, 18 de outubro de 1920.
International Conference of Emigration and Immigration to debate migratory problems outside the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization (ILO). The idea was to agree a collective position for exit countries so they could assert themselves on the international scene and before immigration countries, which at that time dictated the rules for mobility to the exit countries. Even though Portugal was constantly invited to participate, and despite the Portuguese government’s interest in the meetings, the Ministry of the Interior mention there was no money available to send an official representative. This then explains the absence of a Portuguese representative specialised on emigration substituted by Portuguese consuls (of Italy mainly) in the different meetings organized (1924, 1928).

Conclusion
The processes involved in the repatriation of minors during the First Portuguese Republic provided a prime object of study to analyse the concepts of biopolitics and governmentality developed by Michel Foucault. On one hand, it was possible to identify the political and socioeconomic role of emigrants and future generations—the minors—for a country of origin that was economically and socially dependent on emigration, and, consequently, the state investment required for the management of life. On the other hand, the characteristics of the legal-political code established by the state to regulate the migratory dynamic were questioned, as were the ways of transcending this code through regulatory mechanisms associated to the technologies of power developed within and outside the state and its apparatuses in relation to its population. During the First Republic the government’s intentionality to provide a framework for repatriation was clearly explicit in the 1919 legislation.

The repatriation of minors, as representatives of the nation’s future, allowed the degree of state investment in controlling its population to be put to the test. It demonstrated the differentiation that occurred within the category of minors and with adults as well as the criteria and mechanisms used. As part of a more general concern to protect the economic utility of the population, it served as a mechanism to correct deviations seen in emigratory behaviours in order to recoup a force that could be useful to the country. Repatriation, as was expressly announced, should respond to national economic and political priorities inspired by the aim of reifying bodies into a workforce to increase power.

The consulates played a key role in this centralised and personalised management of repatriation. Although there was a legal code that laid down the rules to be followed, the consulates appropriated this code and adapted it to the reality they experienced on a daily basis. These actors were fundamental when it came to selecting and filtering economically useful individuals as well as establishing criteria that complemented those determined by law, such as health and hygiene conditions or the guarantee of economic support. The consuls represented the link between the various public and private, individual and collective actors and made a huge effort to negotiate with them all while never losing sight of the need to control the financial costs of repatriation. Philanthropic institutions and mutual aid associations were also

36 "Conferência Internacional da Emigração e Imigração, Roma, 15 a 31 de Maio de 1924", in Boletim de Emigração, Comissariado Geral dos Serviços de Emigração (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, Janeiro a Setembro de 1924).
37 There was a governmental interest in Portuguese participation. The objectives were to have an international presence and to be part of the debates about protection, hygiene and sanitary services, assistance to emigrants, cooperation, mutuality and welfare. Idem: 1ª Conferência internacional sobre emigração de 1921. 2ª Conferência internacional de emigração de 1928. 1922/29.
crucial, but their intervention was more significant in cases involving the repatriation of whole families.

The analysis of those cases involving the repatriation of minors confirmed that economic and political logics were followed, although managing such cases required increased sensitivity owing to their much more vulnerable situation. Consular intervention followed the logic of wishing to save the state money with repatriations by selecting recoverable individuals who could do military service or those who possessed some economic value for Portugal by being able to economically support themselves or be supported. The cases involving female minors and orphans were undoubtedly the most sensitive to manage, and despite their complexity and the girls’ helplessness, repatriation was never considered a solution to alleviate the situation they were in. This reality confirms once again how the logic of economic profitability, by using rationality principles and methods, was related to the logic of repatriation. These girls were considered non-recoverable individuals for Portugal, even though they could be seen as regenerators of society. Repatriation of abandoned minors raised problems in terms of their reintegration in the society of origin. This confirms the limitations of the Portuguese state’s intervention in public assistance in Portugal, although there was clear intentionality to develop initiatives in this area that would be the State’s responsibility. We can say, therefore, that the public assistance system designed by the State failed in taking care of all migrant minors. The family unit always remained the basis for protecting migrant minors in terms of the private sphere.

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